The University of Chicago

FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO

SIENA, 1439-75

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ART

1942

By

ALLEN WELLER

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CHAPTER II

SIENA: 1439-1475

During the decade which led up to the year 1464, when Francesco, at the age of twenty-five, begins to emerge for us as an artist with his first recorded work (the now lost statue of St. John for the Compagnia di San Giovanni Battista della Morte), the destinies of Sienese art were in the hands of Giovanni di Paolo, Sano di Pietro, Vecchietta, and Antonio Federighi. The principal artistic achievements of this decade, works which surely became a part of his mental and artistic equipment, must be taken into consideration as we try to reconstruct Francesco's development. Perhaps it is worth while to place in chronological order a few dated works of these important formative years.

In 1453, when Francesco is fourteen, Sassetta has been dead for three years, Domenico di Bartolo for eight, Quercia for fifteen. The first great creative period of fifteenth century Sienese art is over, and on the whole the fifties represent a relatively sterile interlude. Giovanni di Paolo's style, after the daring intensity of his early works, seems for the moment in danger of crystallizing into strange and awkward formulae, Sano has relapsed into the most uninspired and repetitious phase of his career, Vecchietta, who matured very slowly as an artist, has yet to create his greatest works, while Federighi is at the beginning of his career. Giovanni di Paolo is painting his monumental but disturbing St. Nicholas of Bari triptych (Siena, Pinacoteca, No. 173); Vecchietta, assisted by the young Benvenuto di Giovanni, is finishing three years work on the Baptistry frescoes, overcrowded and discursive, yet still superbly decorative in total effect; Federighi is busily engaged as architect and sculptor at Orvieto, and, during this year, is selecting marble from the quarries at Carrara for the facade. The young Matteo di Giovanni, about nine years older than Francesco, has already come to Siena from his native Borgo San Sepolchro three or four years before, but has not yet been made a Sienese citizen.

During the next year Giovanni di Paolo paints the big polyptych now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Friedsam Collection). In 1455 a link with the past is severed in the death of Giovanni Turini. In Orvieto, Federighi works on the great rose. Meanwhile, a steady stream of monotomous but technically accomplished panels is issuing from the factory-like studio of the industrious Sano di Pietro, like the Virgin appearing to Pope Callixtus III of 1456 (Siena, Pinacoteca, No. 241). Giovanni di Paolo repeats a frequently used formula in his St. Nicholas of Tolentino in S. Agostino, Montepulciano. Federighi, his reputation assured by his activities in Orvieto, returns to Siena and is made Capomaestro of the Duomo, a postion he retains for the rest of his life.

We may think of Francesco, during this period, as learning his craft in the studio of Vecchietta, who in 1457, when the younger artist is eighteen, produces one of the perfect fruits of his industry in the delicate yet monumental Madonna and Saints in the Uffizi, Florence (No. 474). A work from the same time of totally different character is that swaggering buccaneer, the St. Victor of Federighi on the Loggia di Mercanzia. Sano paints the Biccherna book-cover of the year, two monks with a dove (R. Archivio di Stato). Giovanni di Paolo's two panels from the Collegiata at Castiglione Fiorentino also date from 1457. Matteo di Giovanni and his associate, Giovanni di Pietro, undertake to decorate the S. Bernardino chapel in the Cathedral. Douatello casts the strange late St. John the Baptist for the Duomo.

The election of Enea Silvio Piccolomini as Pope Pius II in 1458 provides a new impetus to the patronage of art in Siena, and leads to numerous important works, which in a measure commence a new flowering of Sienese style. Sano's big polyptych in S. Giorgio, Montemerano, is painted in this year, while two infinitely finer works started at exactly the same time are the emaciated and intense SS. Peter and Paul of Vecchietta on the Loggia di Mercanzia. Donatello and Federighi also receive commissions at the same time for statues to be placed on the Loggia. The principal architectural achievement of the year is Federighi's work on the Duomo facade.

Sano's work on the Porta Romana, in which he completes the Coronation of the Virgin started twelve years earlier by Sassetta, dates from 1459. Vecchietta celebrates the coronation

of Pius II in a fine miniature for the Biccherna book-cover of the year (R. Archivio di Stato), and is commissioned to make two statues for the Cathedral. Federighi completes his St. Ansanus for the Loggia di Mercanzia, and Sano is illuminating psalters for Monte Oliveto Maggiore. The triumphant entry of the new Pope into his native city in February must have impressed Francesco with its emotional and many-colored pageantry.

The energy with which Pius II applies himself to the rebuilding of his village birth-place, Corsignano, under its new name of Pienza, influences the development we are tracing. In 1460, Vecchietta is recommended by the Signoria to the new Pope to reconstruct the Papal Loggia in Siena, but Pius gives the commission to Federighi. We can assume that by this year Francesco's training is completed. He is twenty-one, and on the threshold of an independent career. In Siena, he will be watching the construction of the upper storey of the Cappella di Piazza, built according to the design of Federighi, which so triumphantly superimposed the style and spirit of the Renaissance upon its earlier Gothic beginnings. Federighi, too, is constructing the Palazzo delle Papesse, for the Pope's sister, following a design by Bernardo Rossellino.

Vecchietta and Matteo di Giovanni are both in Pienza in 1461, when the older artist paints his masterpiece, the Assumption, for the Duomo there, while the younger executes two fine altarpieces for the same church. These paintings in a number of ways must have had profound influence upon the youthful Francesco. Fourteen sixty-one is an important year for Vecchietta, who, in Siena, paints his frescoes in the Palazzo Pubblicco, the Madonna of Mercy and the splendid St. Catherine.

Federighi designs the elegant Loggia del Papa, which the Pope dedicates to his family in Siena, in 1462. Meanwhile, his work on the Loggia di Mercanzia is probably completed with the St. Savinus; while Urbano da Cortona produces his fantastically decorative marble bench there. In 1463 still another Sienese artist finishes an important work for Pienza: Giovanni di Paolo's strange altarpiece in the Duomo, the Madonna and Saints stiff, remote, with obvious direct relationships with the past, the Pietà in the lunette above vibrant with intense and personal feeling, the whole painting representing in its architectural organization a determined effort on the part of the aging artist

to assimilate the new forms of the Renaissance. The painting may be taken as a symbol of the transition point Sienese art has reached.

Francesco was more alive than most Sienese artists of his generation to outside influence. Consequently his style as a painter underwent definite change during this first Sienese period, which we may consider at an end about 1475, when he entered the service of the Duke of Urbino. He starts out as a follower of Vecchietta, whose pupil he may very likely have been. At some later period Francesco and Neroccio entered into a definite partnership which they legally dissolved after some kind of a dispute, in 1475. We are consequently not surprised to find some works which seem to have been painted in collaboration, and others in which Francesco's own style reflects some of Neroccio's qualities, though, as the older and stronger painter, Francesco must always have been the leading spirit of the partnership. During this same period of his association with Neroccio, Francesco was influenced by the first of the non-Sienese artists who was to be of importance in the development of his style--the north Italian, Girolamo da Cremona, who was employed in Siena from 1468 to 1473 upon the superb antiphonals still to be seen in the Piccolomini Library. Matteo di Giovanni seems to have contributed something to Francesco's early development in the way of vigorous linear qualities and decisive silhouettes. Late in this Sienese period Francesco began to reflect a strong interest in Florentine art, though such an interest is implicit almost from his earliest works. Certainly from the period of the Coronation, painted for Monte Oliveto Maggiore in 1471, this tendency is very evident. Among painters, Baldovinetti, Pollaiuolo, and Verrocchio seem to have taught him most, and, of the sculptors, both Ghiberti and Donatello were of importance in the formation of his more developed manner. Through it all, Francesco remained, however, a typical Sienese in his fundamental attitude toward art, and his realism is always tempered by a primary love of pure decoration.

A few of the works of this period are known to be Francesco's through existing documents. These are, of course, of particular importance to us, for the attributed works must be constantly compared with them for purposes of verification. Some of the works which are not documented as Francesco's, but

which may be surely attributed to him on stylistic grounds, may be dated more or less definitely by external evidence. These, too, are especially important in working out a plausible chronology. To give a basis for the study which is here attempted, I append a list of datable attributions and the unquestioned authentic works of this period (carefully distinguishing between the two), around which we may build the discussion as a whole:

1459-1463: Chiusi, Duomo, Nativity in Antiphonal B. The painting is an attribution; the date is arrived at because the other miniatures in the book were apparently painted by Lorenzo Rosselli di Bindo of Florence, who was being paid during these years by the monks of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, for whom the book was made.

1463: Siena, Osservanza, illumination of Albertus Magnus's De Animalibus; the miniature, attributed on stylistic grounds, is dated by the scribe, Conradus, in the text of the manuscript itself.

1464: Francesco was paid 12 lire for a sculptured St. John, of unknown material, by the Compagnia di San Giovanni della Morte in Siena. The work is no longer in existence, or has not been recognized.[1]

1466: Siena, Osservanza, illumination of St. Augustine's Super primo sententiarum; the picture is an attribution, and dated again by the same scribe, Conradus.

1467, January: Siena, Regio Archivio di Stato, Biccherna book-cover representing the Madonna dei Terremoti; dated on the cover itself, and attributed by stylistic comparisons with other works.

1470, October 25: Francesco was paid 2 lire for a painting of Monte Vasone by the Biccherna; it is no longer known.

1471: Francesco painted a Coronation of the Virgin for Santa Maria della Scala, and was paid, for it and architectural work there, 98 lire, 4 soldi, 4 denari. This picture is no longer in existence and is not to be confused with the Coronation mentioned below.

1471: Siena, Pinacoteca, No. 440, Coronation of the

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[1] G. F. Hartlaub, ZBK, XXVIII (1917), 94, identifies a wooden statuette of the Baptist in the Städel-Galerie in Frankfurt with this early commission, but its style does not suggest Francesco closely enough to justify this attribution.

Virgin. Painted for Monte Oliveto Maggiore, and apparently documented as of this year.

1473: Siena, Duomo, Story of Judith, pavement design in the north transept. Dated on the pavement itself; a part of the design only may be attributed to Francesco.

1474, February 15: Francesco was paid 27 soldi for a painted pax for Monte Oliveto Maggiore; no longer known.

Before 1475: New Haven, Jarves Collection, No. 63: Annunciation, attributed to Neroccio and Francesco working in collaboration, and consequently to be dated before the break-up of their partnership. The Benedict predella in the Uffizi (No. 1602) is also a collaboration between these two artists, but, as we shall see, there are certain puzzling features about it which make it impossible to be absolutely certain that it was painted before 1475.

1475, April 12: Siena, Pinacoteca, No. 437: Nativity. The contract for the painting was so dated, and the work is signed--the only one ~~of~~ Francesco's creations which is, so far as I know.

It will be seen that this list is far from satisfactory. It leaves out many important works which must surely belong to this period, but which cannot be objectively dated. They must be discussed in relationship to the works included in this list which they most closely resemble. It is also tantalizing to find four works mentioned in the documents which are either no longer in existence or not at present identified. We are, however, fortunate in having a certain amount of exact factual information about the two most monumental works of this period--the Coronation of the Virgin of 1471 and the Nativity of 1475.

Our rudimentary chronological list gives us no factual information about one important type of artistic work which Francesco was undoubtedly producing during his earliest period: paintings for cassoni and other objects of furniture. This interesting group, a particularly puzzling one from the chronological point-of-view, must be analyzed purely from a stylistic standpoint.

Vecchietta's specific influence on Francesco di Giorgio does not seem to have extended beyond the composition of the Biccherna book-cover for 1467, but there are a number of paintings showing this influence which can safely be dated in the decade

from 1457 to 1467, when the artist was eighteen to twenty-eight.

The three tempera panels in the Siena Pinacoteca (Nos.274, 275, 276) telling the stories of Joseph and Susanna are perhaps the earliest works by Francesco still in existence.[2] They are probably (though not certainly) cassone panels, not only gay and amusing little scenes in their own right, but very instructive in that they show us Francesco's art in its purely native beginnings, before he had felt the influence of North Italian, Florentine, and Umbrian masters, who were important in adding monumental and progressive elements to his work, but who made him lose some of the spontaneity and charm of these very early productions.

Joseph sold by his Brethren (No. 276) shows the youthful hero in front of an orange-red well surrounded by richly dressed figures. There are some old types like Vecchietta's, some young ones with the mincing swagger we sometimes see in Sassetta, a suggestion of the grotesque humor of Giovanni di Paolo. The picture does not tell its narrative so engagingly as the other two scenes, perhaps because the young artist has experienced some difficulties in the representation of a crowd. All of the figures seem to wear coats of many colors--gold, pale blue, plum, many with rich surface patterns. The hair is yellow-grey, the flesh bluish. The background, with pyramidal hills, is a warm grey, the olive-green trees outlined against them in a satisfying pattern which gives promise of such settings as that later developed in the Mythological Scene in the Berenson Collection. In the whole series, Francesco is echoing many familiar Sienese motives, but has already given just as many hints of his own later tendencies.

No Potiphar's wife ever went about her business with fiercer enthusiasm than does the one in the companion panel (No. 274). One foot on the base of the bed, her body grotesquely

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[2]Each panel 11-3/8 x 15 in. (0.29 x 0.38 m.), much rubbed and scratched but not restored. First correctly listed as by Francesco by G. Milanesi, Catalogo della Galleria dell' Istituto di Belle Arti di Siena (Siena, 1852), p. 37 (No. 58), and accepted by all later authors except P. Rossi and A. Franchi, BSSP, IX (1902), 214-215, who for some unknown reason deny them to him. S. Brinton, Francesco di Giorgio Martini of Siena (London,1934-1935), I, 24, 107, dates the panels 1471-1475, but they must be ten years earlier than that. Reproductions of the panels have never been published, with the exception of a small detail of No. 274 by B. Degenhart, ZK, IV (1935), 105, but are available through the Frick Art Reference Library,New York (photos 7452, 7448, and 7387).

twisted about, she is pulling at the terrified Joseph with all her energy. The two figures, perfectly balanced in a tense dynamic equilibrium, describe a motive of figure arrangement which Francesco was to employ many times later, though never with this dramatic significance--in the angels in the Coronation of 1471, for instance, and, toward the close of his career, in the breastplate of the Bargello Scipio. Exaggerated as the drawing of the woman is, no one else in Siena at the moment these panels were created could have expressed her movement so well, and surely the artist is quite aware of the humorous quality of the result. The scene takes place in an architectural setting of great beauty, in which the rich polychromy is entirely controlled by an almost severely classic style. Terribly damaged though it is, the colors of the little panel are still strangely glowing and personal. The walls are the salmon-red of Pompeiian decoration, with golden pilasters bordered in dull olive-green. The front columns are a mottled brown, with blue capitals and bases. The bed is all of rich tooled gold, the floor under it grey. A dark green garden is seen through the windows. The figures are no less startling in color than the astonishing architecture: the woman, yellow-haired, her flesh greyish, wears an abbreviated garment of grey shot through with blue, violet, and rose; Joseph has yellow hair with traces of blue in it--even the flesh is bluish--and he is dressed in pale reddish-purple, dull gold, crimson, and pale blue. Descriptions of color schemes make tiresome reading, but this one is so unexpected, so symptomatic of the extreme individualism of its author, that it is hard not to record it in some detail. It is like a Vecchietta which has suddenly become young, willful, inexperienced, but alive.

A great contrast to the vehemence of the preceding panel is the extreme reticence of the Susanna and the Elders (No. 275). Susanna stands, nude, in a square basin to the right, a figure of demure charm, eyeing the two dignified old men who stand behind a dense hedge. She looks like some Christian martyr, with a halo around her head and her hands raised in prayer. The architecture is again of great distinction and beauty: severe in plan, but fantastically rich in color. A pilastered palace reaches back to a spacious loggia on the left. All the flesh areas have the bluish underpainting we have noticed previously, and very pale highlights. The old men are close to Vecchietta, their faces,

beards, and veils all one tone of grey, their garments gold, pale blue, and a greyish purple. Susanna's only accessory is a beautiful red-gold halo. The architecture introduces, in Francesco's unique manner, tones of Pompeiian red, blue, green, white, and pale pink. The very dark olive green of the bushes and grass makes a striking pattern in this delicate scheme. Something of the rather eccentric individuality of these early works may have descended to Francesco from Giovanni di Paolo: compare, for instance, Giovanni's Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist[3] with this Susanna.

A notable feature of the series is the architectural stability of the space composition, which reminds us of such contemporary works as Domenico Veneziano's predella panels for the St. Lucy altarpiece, or the works of Piero della Francesca. Planes are parallel, areas neatly enclosed. This geometric, orderly conception of space represents a tradition of long standing in Siena (see the panels on the back of Duccio's Maesta, or Sassetta's Birth of the Virgin at Asciano), but one which is soon to be abandoned. As yet the fantastic architecture and complex spatial schemes of the later works are not suggested. These early cassone panels do not hang in the Siena Gallery in the order they may originally have had. Artistically, the Susanna panel should be in the middle, balanced by the Joseph and Potiphar's Wife to the left, and the Joseph sold by his Brethren to the right.

The little St. Dorothy leading the Christ Child in the National Gallery, London (No. 1682), is a much better preserved panel which must date from the same period.[4] This unusual little

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[3] Formerly Martin Le Roy Collection, Paris: cf. P. Leprieur and A. Pératé, Catalogue Raisonné de la Collection Martin Le Roy (Paris, 1909), V, pl. iii. The specifically Sienese flavor of Francesco's engaging panels can be nicely realized if we compare them with three cassone panels dealing with the same Joseph stories which come from Florence at a little earlier period: T. Borenius, BM, XXXIII (1918), 216-221. The Florentine panels, slight though they are, seem almost sober in comparison with Francesco's exuberance. (Given, I think incorrectly, to the style of Vecchietta, by P. Schubring, Cassoni: Supplement [Leipzig, 1923] , No. 935.)

[4] 13 x 8-5/8 in. (0.33 x 0.22 m.), formerly in the Bardini Collection, Florence. Sold at Christie's, June 5, 1899 (No.486); acquired by the National Gallery from Agnew in the same year for 140 pounds. Correctly identified as to artist from its first publication, The Magazine of Art, XXII (1899), 559. Incorrectly

picture has so many of the characteristics of Vecchietta that it would be tempting to classify it as one of his works were it not for a certain warmth of characterization and feeling that is very rare in that artist, who, when he is not at his very best (then his works are marked by a peculiar austerity) is apt to be somewhat wooden. Its style would seem to make it earlier in date than the manuscript illumination of 1466. Francesco is using the language of his master, but already he proclaims himself in such a general quality as the sense of tenderness and intimacy, and in such specific mannerisms as the little top-knots of hair springing from the forehead.

St. Dorothy, a figure of singular, almost Gothic refinement, wears a mantle of pale old rose with grey high-lights over a gown of gold with blue shadows. She carries a spray of rose and white flowers in one hand, and leads the heavenly Child with the other: He is clad in a pale red over-garment, blue skirt and stockings. Both figures are of the fragile blonde type familiar in Francesco's later Madonna paintings. The floor is marbled in dark green, brown, and grey; the background is of gold, with elaborate tooled halos and borders. Very typical of Francesco are the brown eyes and the long thin hands, which seem to exert no pressure as they grasp things.

The theme of the little panel is a very unusual one to encounter in fifteenth century Italian art. St. Dorothy was never very popular in Italy, but was a favorite with north European artists. Early Italian painters sometimes included her in scenes which brought a number of saints together (an example in Siena is the Ambrogio Lorenzetti Santa Petronilla polyptych), and she appears in Venetian art, where the value of a saint whose attribute is a basket of flowers is obvious. But the charming theme of Dorothy leading the Christ Child is distinctly a northern, particularly a German one, and it is hard to think of any other Italian version of the subject. Many German prints of the period show it to us: no fewer than thirty-nine woodcuts and seven engravings of fifteenth century German origin have been

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identified as the Madonna rather than St. Dorothy by B. Berenson, The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance (2d ed.; New York, 1909), p. 170, and E. Hutton, The Sienese School in the National Gallery (London, 1925), p. 115. Cf. A. Weller, AQ, II (1939), 30-31.

published,[5] and while these represent numerous iconographical variations, some of them are surprisingly close to our Francesco panel. A woodcut, now in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek,[6] made perhaps in Bamberg about 1470, shows the sort of work which may very well have been a prototype for Francesco's painting. A strong German element was present in Siena in the second half of the fifteenth century, attracted there by the University, and the St. Dorothy panel is not the only example of probable influence on Francesco's iconography from German sources, as we shall see later. Of course we should remember that Italian fifteenth century prints are today rare in comparison to similar German work of the same period, so that actually we know less about popular Italian devotional art than we do German; but when we find an artist like Francesco employing themes which must be nearly unique among his artistic contemporaries which are frequent in this other medium, it seems legitimate to assume some definite contact between them.

At the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, the National Gallery St. Dorothy is related to two panels which have never been published as by Francesco di Giorgio: pendant panels, each with two kneeling penitents, one in the Musée Condé at Chantilly (No. 8),[7] the companion piece in the Musée Bonnat at Bayonne (No. 959).[8] Certainly the two panels offer certain striking similarities to the St. Dorothy, but, though they seem to be by Francesco, I cannot convince myself that they were actually made

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[5]Cf. M. Lehrs, Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert (Vienna, 1908-1934), 9 vols., and W. L. Schreiber, Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts (Leipzig, 1926-1930), 8 vols.

[6]Schreiber, III, 81, No. 1398a.

[7]11-3/8 x 7-5/8 in. (0.29 x 0.195 m.), bought in Italy by Ingres; presented by him to Frédéric Reiset; acquired by the Duc d'Aumale at the Reiset sale, Paris, Hotel Drouot, April 28, 1879 (No. 38), where it was simply listed as of the Italian school; went with his collection to the French government in 1897; ascribed at the Musée Condé simply to the Italian school, XV century; cf. F. A. Gruyer, La Peinture au Chateau de Chantilly: Ecoles Etrangères (Paris, 1896), p. 19. Offner has endorsed it as a Francesco in a note at the Frick Library, but it has not previously been published in this connection. Photo, Giraudon G-27336.

[8]Incorrectly catalogued at the Museum as by Bonfigli. Photo, Doucet 514.

to accompany the London panel.

The Chantilly panel evidently was placed to the left of a central picture, the Bayonne panel to the right. In the first the head of the nearer man is covered by his cowl: only the nearer eye shows through a hole cut in it; the further figure has thrown back his cowl and turns his face upward with a soulful expression. Both carry scourges. The arrangement of the cowls is exactly reversed in the Bayonne panel. The figures kneel on a varicolored marble floor, and are outlined against a gold background with rich gold borders.

The arrangement of marble floor, gold background, and delicate thin flowing drapery, presents at first glance close affinities to the panel in London. But a more careful study shows that the works could not originally have been pendants to the St. Dorothy. The tooling of the incised borders was made with different instruments and follows quite a different pattern. The marbling of the pavement in the Bayonne and Chantilly panels is designed in horizontal movements, while the forms are more vertical in the London picture. An entirely different system of cracklings is observed between the St. Dorothy panel and the other two. The London panel is not enough larger than the Chantilly panel to suggest any meaningful relationship.

The panels of kneeling penitents seem more advanced in style than the other Vecchiettesque works we have been considering. There is a greater sense of bulk to the figures, the hands are modelled with greater force, and there is a certain spiritual intensity we have not previously met. The almost affectedly graceful gestures and languid air of the figures make them harmonize well, however, with the Vecchietta tradition.

The pictures must have been painted for one of the Sienese confraternities--organizations whose members were variously known as disciplinati, battuti, cappucciati, and flagellanti. Representations of members of such organizations are occasionally found in Italian art, and are easily mistaken for monks.[9]

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[9]Similar figures by Sienese artists are to be seen in a predella by Sano di Pietro (New Haven, Jarves Collection, No. 61), and in a Madonna del Soccorso by an unknown Umbro-Sienese (Montalcino, Compagnia del Corpus Domini). Possibly Francesco's panels were painted for the Confraternita di San Sebastiano in Cammollia; at any rate the habits the men wear seem to be identical with those introduced by Sodoma in the standard painted for this organiza-

The earliest of the Madonna paintings by Francesco seems to be the example in the collection of Prince A. von Thurn und Taxis at Duino, near Trieste.[10] I know the work only by photograph, and unfortunately the photograph has never been publisned. The panel shows the Virgin and Child, SS. Jerome and Anthony Abbot, and two Angels. It seems to be a very early work, with Francesco still under decided Vecchietta influence. The composition, with the figures closely massed together, does not give the artist an opportunity to exploit the effective use of silhouette so noticeable in the similar pictures executed during the years of his association with Neroccio. The Virgin's face is obviously a Francesco type, but it is not carried to the extreme of individuality wnich we get later. The two old saints are the troubled, long-bearded types of Vecchietta, rather than the short-bearded, square-headed, more plastic Girolamo da Cremona kind. The Angels, their blonde hair not falling free as is usually the case in Francesco's work, but crowned with wreaths of flowers, are of the delicate, slightly haggard type we meet in Vecchietta. The wnole work is carried out with extreme care as to details--the child's robe elaborately brocaded, almost in the manner of Simone Martini, the halos and border of the gold background of unusual complexity and delicacy. The figures are quite without form save for the rather tentative modelling of the hands and faces. All these qualities seem to indicate that the work is that of a very young, very conscientious artist. Certainly it seems to be earlier than the partnership with Neroccio. Perhaps 1465 would be a possible date for it.

Every student of Sienese painting is familiar with the unique series of book-covers for the municipal tax-registers, from the Biccherna (or revenue office) and the Gabella (or tax-collector's office), still preserved, though miserably exhibited, in the Regio Archivio di Stato in the Palazzo Piccolomini. Many of the finest Sienese artists--Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Giovanni di

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tion in 1525 (Florence, Pitti, No. 1590). Other fifteenth century examples of non-Sienese origin are generally Umbrian in provenience.

[10] 35-1/2 x 25-5/8 in. (0.90 x 0.65 m.). A. McComb, AS, II (1924), 26, gives the location of this collection as Leutschin, near Nimburg, in Bohemia, but the more recent lists of B.Berenson, Italian Pictures of the Renaissance (Oxford, 1932), p. 202, locate it as above.

Paolo, Sano di Pietro, Matteo di Giovanni, and others--seem to have been employed in producing these delightful minor works. At one time or another as many as six of these tavolette have been attributed to Francesco di Giorgio, but only one of them remains his after they have been subjected to critical study. As a painting it is weak, but it has the advantage, at any rate, to the art historian of being dated.[11]

Francesco's Biccherna cover is that for January, 1467. (It is dated in the inscription 1466, which would of course correspond to our dating of 1467.) It represents the Madonna dei Terremoti appearing over the city of Siena. In conception and design the work is typical of Francesco. The Virgin, a half length figure, buoyed up by cherubim, surrounded by golden-haired Angels, many of them rather unpleasantly cut off at the waists, in flowing gowns covered with leaf designs, occupies the sky. Below, in miniature scale, is Siena--gates, towers, and striped cathedral all recognizable among the Tuscan hills. The tents and pavilions which were erected during the earthquake which had shaken the town in August, 1466 are pitched in front of the city. The book-cover is terribly dirty, and little of the original color quality can be discovered.

The upper group, in its elastic sense of movement, which, fluent as it is, remains stately in its symmetrical design, is very similar to the active figures on the cassone panels, such as the examples in the Wheelwright and Stibbert Collections. It is not as carefully painted nor as brilliantly designed as the God the Father and Angels in the Lehman Collection, but some of the figures to the right are almost duplicated in that brilliant fragment. It is only a certain thinness and bodyless quality that calls to mind Vecchietta's rather anaemic refinement. The architecture, too, is not very stable (it is largely because it is "unskilful and wobbly" that Edgell has assigned the picture to Neroccio). But Francesco painted flimsy architecture in some

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[11] 20-7/8 x 16-1/4 in. (0.53 x 0.41 m.). A. Lisini, Le Tavolette dipinte di Stato in Siena (Siena, 1901), pl. xxxix, gives the inscription. G. H. Edgell, A History of Sienese Painting (New York, 1932), p. 248, attributes it to Neroccio, though he had already (p. 238) given the same book-cover to Francesco. The other tavolette which have sometimes, but I believe incorrectly, been given to Francesco are those for 1460 (Vecchietta), 1468 (Benvenuto di Giovanni), 1479 (Benvenuto di Giovanni), 1480 (Neroccio), and 1483 (perhaps Vecchietta).

of his other works, and I think the picture is his, though it cannot rank as a very successful work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following abbreviations for titles of certain periodicals are used in the footnotes, but not in the complete bibliography:

AA--Art in America
AB--The Art Bulletin
AJA--The American Journal of Archaeology
AS--Art Studies
ASA--Archivio storico dell' Arte
ASI--Archivio storico italiano
ASL--Archivio storico lombardo
ASPN--Archivio storico per le Provincie napoletane
AQ--The Art Quarterly
BA--Bolletino d'Arte
BM--The Burlington Magazine
BSSP--Bullettino senese di Storia Patria
GBA--Gazette des Beaux-Arts
JKSW--Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien
JPK--Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen
KJBH--Kunstgeschichliches Jahrbuch der Biblioteca Herziana
MK--Monatschefte für Kunstwissenschaft
MKIF--Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz
RAS--Rassegna d'Arte senese
RasA--Rassegna d'Arte
RivA--Rivista d'Arte
RK--Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft
ZBK--Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst
ZK--Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte

The enormous number of references to the subject of this monograph has made it necessary to break up the bibliography into the following classes:

I. Francesco di Giorgio.
   A. Publications of documents and early sources.
   B. General, comprehensive, and biographical studies.
   C. Painting and drawing.
   D. Sculpture.
   E. Architecture, engineering, the Trattato.

II. Guide-books and Catalogues.

III. Other publications cited in the footnotes.